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Decolonizing Caricature: *Prosopographia* in the Comic Politics of Marty Two Bulls, Sr.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Decolonizing Caricature

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... you have noticed that truth comes into this world with two faces. One is sad with suffering, and the other laughs; but is it the same face, laughing or weeping.

—Black Elk, A *Heyoka* of the Oglala Lakota

There is a "joke" amongst many members of the Lakota/Dakota/Nakota (LDN) Nation. It has to do with a sublime, or perhaps ridiculous, mountainside monument to Crazy Horse, the construction of which began in 1948 and is as yet unfinished. The monument is carved into the Black Hills of South Dakota, in the northeastern portion of the Sonoran Desert, less than fifty miles southwest of Rapid City. There is no consensus on what Crazy Horse looked like. Nevertheless, there in the granite face is a larger-than-life bust of the Oglala Lakota warrior, with eyes gazing southeast toward Custer State Park. The monument is bigger than Mount Rushmore—an irony, given that the presidential memorial was once part of tribal lands. In 1868, the Lakota were promised ownership over the Black Hills. But, when Lieutenant General George Custer confirmed that gold was discovered there in 1874, prospectors and profiteers retook the lands. A century after the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Second Continental Congress, the Great Sioux War broke out, culminating in the death of Chief Crazy Horse. This was not before the Last Sun Dance of 1877 wherein the chieftain was honored for his victories at the Battle of Little Big Horn (or, the Battle of Greasy

Grass). Sacred fires burned. Prayers were offered with ceremonial pipes. Personal sacrifices were performed for the community. And for these reasons and more the Crazy Horse Memorial Foundation has missioned itself "to protect and preserve the culture, tradition and living heritage of North American Indians."[1] Honorifics notwithstanding, the monument has been dubbed an "emerging monstrosity," scarcely better than Crazy Horse Malt Liquor.[2] Writer and member of the Crow Creek Sioux tribe, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, calls it a cenotaph for "an untitled resistance story by the suppressed people who are supposedly represented by the subject matter."[3] This story of resistance is the real testament to the legacy of Crazy Horse, and it is replete with, well, monuments to American Indians as historical subjects (or objects) of misrepresentation, disfigurement, and corrupt intentions.[4]

But, alas, the joke. It goes like this: a completed monument will feature Crazy Horse pointing to his vast homelands, where his descendants still live and so many of his kinfolk have been put in the ground. To fashion Crazy Horse thusly, non-tribal sculptors are desecrating the mountainside with dynamite, rearranging rock and soil. On one fateful day, though, a white sculptor "made a mistake. He set his dynamite under the pointing finger of Crazy Horse and, accidentally, he blew the finger clean off. Now, in response to the question [of where are the Lakota homelands], Crazy Horse simply lifts his chin and points with his lips."[5] To rework a Lakota proverb, the rhetorical force of a thing or an act comes from its meaning. The meaning here lies in the monumental about-face.

I begin with these references to Crazy Horse because in them one can see how cultural representations of indigenism constitute inveterate relationships between the material residues of colonialism and rhetorical portrayals of Native Americans. Such relationships sustain a sort of provincialism that makes land disputes between private interests and indigenous tribes look like tensions between primitivism and progress. Images of Native Americans from memorials through consumer products to mascots carry with them the "cultural baggage" of noble savagery and the warped Otherness that comes when entire communities survive for generations as quasi-wards of the U.S. nation state.[6] Sadly, in the twenty-first century, we are making little headway to better tribal relations. With the advancement of the controversial Keystone XL and Dakota Access oil pipelines, both of which traverse parts of the Great Sioux Reservation in the Great Plains, matters of land-grabbing and cultural larceny that arose long before Crazy Horse are once again rearing their ugly heads. At the center of these newfangled modes of Western expansion are not just the territories to be excavated and abused, but also the typecasts that have long subjected American Indians to the false promises in so many treaties and the state-sponsored injustices in so many troubles "on the rez." Put more bluntly, persistent colonialist conduct is built on pervasive and distorted imagery of those

who are colonized. Each new moment of Native Resistance is therefore met with the challenge of how a dominant U.S. culture has labored to cast American Indians in the image of a people salvaged in the face of ever-possible extermination. Prevailing representations of Native Americans typify "a grotesque caricature of western modernization" and Manifest Destiny.[7] Hence why struggles over ways of seeing are so vital to cultural preservation. Sometimes these struggles demand the fortitude of a warrior like Tasunke Witko. Then again, at other times, they call for the "crazy wisdom" of a comic outlook.[8]

Tellingly, the Lakota have figures that represent the kind of rhetorical struggles that are the topic of this chapter. They are called *heyokas*, or venerable comics. Their comic wisdom is riddled with a sort of distorted imagination that encourages audiences of their work "to look with wonder and curiosity at new possibilities, and from different angles, so that they perceive situations in a fresh way."[9] According to Charles ("Chuck") Trimble, a revered journalist and advocate for American Indian affairs, a *heyoka* is a contrarian with a trickster spirit who uses humor and ridicule to rupture the arrogance of colonialism, for instance, or the express bigotries and exploitations of, say, Big Oil.[10] A *heyoka*, says Trimble, "must have the courage of Crazy Horse," and the passion of an *eyapaha*, or person embodying an empathic voice of the people.[11] This comic storyteller is thus an artist who can incite a "sudden laugh" that springs from one who "registers a tremor in cultural identity, and not only in identity but in the security of Being itself."[12] Self-proclaimed Native Editorial Cartoonist and Oglala Lakota with ancestral ties to Crazy Horse, Marty Two Bulls, Sr., is just such "a sacred clown, a holy fool,"[13] who mediates through caricature the conflicted spaces between spiritual realms and real-world problems. Two Bulls has garnered attention for his candid albeit cunning portrayals of indigenous perspectives. For example, a number of his caricatures picture how strange it would be for a sports team to be named the "Whites," or the "Slaves," or the KKKs.[14] Another one encourages a view of oil extraction and transportation on sacred lands as the outcome of decisions rendered by a resurrected George Washington, whose likeness comes to life from a dollar bill to wield a gavel with a barrel for a head. The point is that Two Bulls muddies the waters of common sense by caricaturing encroachments on tribal areas and Native iconographies as encroachments on rhetorical (i.e., spiritual, traditional, and ritual) activities, plus the holisms that characterize indigenous ways of life.

Caricatures retain such great rhetorical force because of their capacity to draw out the implications of gross distortions and grotesque representations through a kind of comic politics in pictorial refacements. Obviously, a caricature is not always or altogether "good." It can falsify to a fault. It can appear as a bogeyman or an eidolon. But a caricature can also visualize the truth of a matter. It can harness stereotypes and suppressions as sources of pointed reproach. It can, even if

paradoxically, fill out a picture of people and their principles, which might otherwise get flattened by damaging narratives and hurtful symbols. Simply, there is the distinctly rhetorical possibility that caricature can recast other caricatures. There is a term for this manner of "comic force" in refacement.[15] It is *prosōpographia*. The term is a merger of *prósōpon* ("face") and *graphíā* ("graphic," "drawing"). A species of *enargeia*, or vividness in visibility, *prosōpographia* is defined by re-depictions of persons or groups of people. It is grounded in core characteristics, material conditions, and historiographies. Moreover, *prosōpographia* is about unmasking the depths of rhetorical surfaces in public imagery. To borrow from Walter Benjamin, it is about visual articulations of the present historically, with an eye to how past representational injustices are imbricated with lived realities that have grown into monstrosities. To the extent that caricature is prosopographic, it is a crafty art of facing up to those injurious and ill-formed aspects of present histories. And it is comic insofar as it takes on the folly of what follows from, in this case, Native traditionalism and ongoing Western orientations toward Englightenment-inspired expansionism. Two Bulls' caricatures recalibrate Native caricatures to re-face an historical search for apt images of indigenous peoples.

Caricatures of Native Americans are as rife as they are routine in everything from consumer goods to controversies over the land and lore of First Nations. Rather than debunk these caricatures as either damaging or outdated, this chapter will delve into Two Bulls' comic artwork in order to rethink how distortive imagery can refigure tribalism as a mode of public address that toes the line between what Michael Taussig might call a "colonial mirror" and Steven Heller and Gail Anderson might see as the mark of a "savage mirror."[16] I argue that Two Bulls' caricatures harness the rhetorical force of *prosōpographia* by unsettling harsh imagery that descends from dominant Anglo culture and, relatedly, by deploying notions of indigenous otherness as a positive means of asserting visual claims to both nationalism and indigenism that move beyond (although in and through) grotesque disfigurements. Nowhere are these comic forces more apparent than in the collection of works that made Two Bulls a finalist for the 2017 Herblock Prize for excellence in editorial cartooning. In the six images that comprise the collection are reclaimed stereotypes, clever illustrations of traditional Native images and ideas, and—in sum—decolonized caricatures that remake colonialist perspectives into the real evidence of backwardness, retrogradation, and savagery.

Slings and Arrows

Native Americans are Redfaces. They are sqaws. They are "Injuns." They are sun-worshippers and rain-dancers. They are also war-whooping brutes with

tomahawks and buffalo-hide shields, going headlong into battles on blazing saddles. Sometimes they are noble savages. At other times they are renegades of the reservation. Despite having no tradition of royalty in their tribes, some Native Americans are princesses. There is also a "Hollywood Indian" that is a pop cultural stock-in-trade. Together, these typecasts constitute what Maria Lyytinen terms "colonial imagery," rounding out a picture of historical trauma and settler oppression made worse by more recent proclamations that indigenous people are somehow either casino-rich or predisposed to alcoholism, drug abuse, and poverty. At face value, this imagery evinces a tradition of non-Native attitudes that rely on "fetishes for such contradictory concepts as primitiveness, nature, spirituality, unbridled sexuality, violence, nobility, or heathenness."[17] For historian and member of the Standing Rock Sioux, Vine Deloria, Jr., there is a longstanding discourse about American Indians that focuses on their strangeness rather than their humanity.[18] What is more, it comprises a cudgel for conquest orientations that coincide with Western-centrism and its dark pictures of cultural dominance.

The controversies around and counter-actions to the construction of oil pipelines that would crisscross tribal lands in the Great Plains while bolstering the carbon energy bases of Western lifeways are important contact points for considerations of indigenous struggles for decolonization. This is not simply because Two Bulls and others who are part of a powerful "comic art indigène" have placed stress on the settler claims for piped energy transfer systems that face off with Native rights to self-determination.[19] Rather, these instances of pipeline politics typify how indigenous "representations, with their politics and economic resonances, become questions of cultural property and, ultimately, questions of land."[20] Or, as Chadwick Allen puts it,

> at the glaring center of the current conflict stands the perennial issue of whether or not settler governments and powerful multinational corporations will recognize Native individuals, communities, and nations as relevant stakeholders with relevant concerns and points of view—on their own lands and in their own lives.[21]

Before delving into how Two Bulls in particular uses caricature to recraft Amerindian imagery for Western eyes, it is worthwhile to set the scene of colonialism and decolonization efforts as they are endemic to fossil fuel projects in the U.S. prairie regions.

Crazy Horse once intoned that one cannot sell the land upon which people walk. The Earth is sacred. How can you buy or sell the sacred—"the sky," as Chief Seattle might ask, or "the warmth of the land"? These are the sentiments of so many of the protestors of the Dakota Access and Keystone XL pipelines, who are engaging in a spiritual battle that is concomitant to historical fights with the U.S. army, contests with multinational corporations over the descration of sacred sites, and rhetorical warfare that is laced with the legacies of land management under

the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Fittingly, these protestors are not actually protestors; they are "water protectors" and "land defenders." Their encampments (namely Sacred Stone and Oceti Sakowin) on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation stood from April 2016 through February 2017, and were unprecedented in terms of scope and participation. There was representation from approximately one hundred tribes by November 2016 from the U.S. and Canada. There were expressions of solidarity from the Black Lives Matter Movement and Code Pink. And with widely circulated slogans on social media like #NoDAPL and #NativeLivesMatter, never mind those on signage like "Water is Life" and "People Before Pipelines," there was a veritable critique of colonialism in ritualistic displays against the Dakota Access pipeline. These displays highlight the ways in which colonialist impulses quash a rhetorical spirit of onenessin the reverence for Mother Earth,[22] and how desecrated landscapes uproot opportunities for indigenous people to safeguard their spaces of ongoing communion and revelation.[23] The Native call for cultural preservation is a call to decolonize.

A chief concern about the cultural defilement at stake in the pipeline projects revolves around an historical "disregard for the sovereignty of tribes, manifest in the building of infrastructure on Indian land without honest consultation or consent."[24] In fact, the protests originated as much in response to the active, on-site, and sometimes legally-questionable construction work of TransCanada (for Keystone XL) and Energy Transfer Partners (for Dakota Access) as to a lack of "affirmative mutual consent between the federal and tribal governments regarding undertakings that impact tribal resources."[25] These resources include cultural properties like sanctified grounds for sun dances and religious ceremonies, as well as vital sources of drinking water such as Lake Oahu, a resoirvoir in the Missouri River. Tribal leaders and legal advocates of the Great Sioux Nation have petitioned the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers about issues ranging from infringements on indigenous heritage and homelands to environmental impacts. They have outlined potential violations to the National Historical Preservation Act, possible removals or relocations that could follow from both construction and operation of the pipelines, and the likelihood of newfangled broken promises around tribal sovereignty. Furthermore, reporters have resounded "echoes of Wounded Knee," and thus the nineteenth-century Sioux Wars that were urged on by the federal government's attempts to take back lands promised to Native Americans in the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. All the while, "protectors" and "defenders" have struggled to prevent their earth from "being ravaged and squandered," and to preserve "the living forests and their birds and beasts, the grassy glades, the water, the soil, and the air itself."[26] This struggle is more difficult when Native cultures are cast as living caricatures, with dispensable sacred lands and hallowed customs performed by a small faction of people clinging to bygone folklore.

Resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Keystone XL Pipeline besides, quavers squarely on the borderline of civil liberties and basic human rights. But it also bespeaks questions of justice for and the survival of Native Americans defying cultural domination.[27] There were instances of Standing Rock protectors setting construction equipment ablaze. There were times when police (ultimately including private security forces, local officers, state troopers, and members of the National Guard) used mace, pepper spray, aggressive guard dogs, tear gas, and water sprayers to tamp down demonstrators. Activities were particularly amped up in September 2016, on the anniversary of the Whitestone Massacre, when bulldozers trampling sacred sites and protectors blocked construction equipment with their bodies. "They are going over our culture, our land, our heart," said LaDonna Allard, member of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and descendant of those who were butchered alongside the Cannon Ball River. "I stood on that ground as the dogs barked and I prayed."[28] By and large, the resistance has been comprised of demonstrations and daily prayer ceremonies, typifying Lakota values like "respect, compassion, honesty, generosity, humility, and wisdom."[29] These values are aligned with a sacred regard for clean water and sustainable energy sources.

What also stand out, though, are the rhetorical characteristics of the standoff. The legacy of Native Resistance evokes a rhetorical "opposition between traditional and modern worlds."[30] In general, on one side is a rhetorical culture driven by deference to *makoce* (land), *mni* (water, movement), *peta* (fire, energy), and *oniye* (air, breath), together with values like *wacantognaka* (generosity), *woohitika* (courage), *wowacintanka* (respect), and *woksape* (wisdom). On the other side is a rhetorical culture animated by profit motives, hunger, and competition, and an ideological stance proclaiming that "Americans of all kinds revere unspoiled nature, but the way of progress counts, too."[31] Indeed, one is moved by devotion to *Wakan Tanka*, or "The Great Mystery," which privileges the sacredness of all things. The other is compelled by what Kenneth Burke might call the "divine discontent" of a Faustian bargain, making the rational order of things into a pursuit of "material attainments."[32] Such an order proliferates imagery of conflicts with Native Americans as the inevitable costs of doing business anywhere in or around land allotments. In this imagery is something of a twenty-first-century Termination policy that leads contemporary renegades to be classified as "rioters," *chanunpas* (or sacred ceremonial pipes used in prayers for knowledge and peace) to be mistaken for pipe bombs, and police forces to claim that pipeline protestors were armed with bows and arrows.[33] However, also in this imagery is a mechanism of response that reinvigorates an affirmative mode of "consummatory self-address," confronting dominant cultural forces in tension with indigenism in mainstream U.S. public culture.

Native-drawn imagery abounds with critiques of "the Western gaze,"[34] but also resources for "visual information about Indians and Indian life."[35] For my

part, recent *comic* imagery of Indianness unsettles colonialist orientations by situating indigenism as a rhetorical matter of image-making. The editorial cartoon space, wherein caricature so often reigns, is a compelling site for articulating a visual commentary on hegemonic American national identity. To the extent that caricatures make argumentative appeals, they can exploit the "spiritual-prescient," "grand," "ugly," and other faces of visible wretchedness that somehow empower a rhetoric of hope.[36] *Elle aborde l'Autre non pas de face, mais de biais*, says Emmanuel Levinas: "Rhetoric approaches the other not to face him, but obliquely." In caricature, this is hardly a bad thing. Instead, it is a feature of comic *prosōpographia*, or the mock *re*facement of Native Americans that repurpose images from dominant culture in the construction of imaginative travesties.

In the work of Two Bulls, caricature begets indigenism in (and on) the face of "mimetic excess,"[37] or the "excess of visibility,"[38] perturbing how we see Ourselves vis-a-vis how we see Others. For Michael Taussig, this perturbation is imperative to the decolonization of colonial imagery. Caricature is, to a large extent, mimetic. It is derived from an existing image. It creates a comic looking glass that thrives on alterities insofar as, in this case, cultural identities are formed in rhetorical responses to—and rhetorically-established images of—constructued otherness.[39] Importantly, in Tausig's schema, the mimesis-alterity connection is what motivates acts of defacement. Defacement entails a multifacted bond between images and objects, representations and realities, and thus the material substances (and consequences) of appearances. It is therefore prosopographic in that defacement

> rests on the notion that the world of appearance is … a tensed surface, concealing a hidden and deeper world providing a treasure trove, so to speak, for a certain kind of storyteller who skillfully exploits the play of facades and the repression holding facades in place.[40]

In these skillful exploitations, status quos are turned inside out, and "the savagery imputed to the Other" is "then mimicked on the body of that Other."[41] In the caricatured image, then, is the colonialist turned savage, and the indigene decolonized by so many old struggles and durable traditions of repression and resistance. The caricature here is the laughing face of the *heyoka*.

The work that made Two Bulls a 2017 finalist for the Herblock Prize confronts, gives face to, and turns the eye toward "issues of political interest to Native peoples."[42] It is a comic attestation to how images become institutions, and how cultural imaginaries become laughable faces for codified forms of nationalistic identification. It is also proof of the rhetorical force that caricature has to re-present abstract values as the cultural goods of a people and its history. Tribal preservationist, Winona LaDuke, might see it as the work of "recovering the sacred."

Taussig might see it as proof that the sacred can be profane (and vice versa). I see it as the work of *refacing* the sacred by redeploying profanations. In Taussig's terms, caricature enacts a "recuperation of surface"—a "refacement."[43] Two Bull's comic refacements begin with the iconography of a Black Snake, which is at the root of a Lakota prophecy about the ravaging of Mother Earth.

Caricature Is *Wakan*

In a landmark essay on the rhetorical production of bodies politic, Michael C. McGee argues that "the people" is "a fiction dreamed by an advocate and infused with an artificial, rhetorical reality by the agreement of an audience to participate in a collective fantasy."[44] Others, such as Maurice Charland, similarly articulate the rhetorical basis for claims to the ontological, which is to say human, status of a community. This rhetorical footing for cultural fitness is crucial to images and ideas about indigenism. In damaging caricatures of Native people, everything from "place names, broken treaties, and raids" to depictions of squaws and savages work to "dilute Indian sovereignty and appropriate Native cultural identity."[45] A dreamt-up fiction here "is really a dream-monster, which, if it survives the enounter with the human reality it is supposed to represent, can transform the social landscape into a dark field upon which humanity enacts its nightmares."[46] However, from an alternative vantage, caricature provides Native advocates and storytellers a means of rhetorical escape from the "prisons of image."[47] To caricature can be to Other. But it can also be, however awkwardly rendered, to Self. It takes these two provisional truths about picturing Native Americans to see how caricature is entangled with persistent colonialist perspectives. So it is that we can turn to the so-called Black Snake Prophecy.

To begin with, "serpentine rhetoric,"[48] dates back to the Early Republic. Benjamin Franklin's infamous 1754 iteration of the "Join, or Die" snake was largely about how colonial governments might cooperate (or not) with the Iroquois Confederation prior to the French and Indian War. A cartoon published in *Judge* over a century later by Grant E. Hamilton is a benchmark for a century of fallout. It pictures a snake with the face of a Native American, complete with a wide nose, piercing eyes, and large fangs protruding from its mouth. "The Nation's Ward," as the cartoon is called, also displays the Indian snake with braided hair, earrings, and a feathered headdress. Part of its body is coiled around a dead tree. Another is squeezing a pioneer mother and child. The words "Apache Atrocities" appear on the snake's skin, and a wooden sign affixed to the tree admonishes, "Uncle Sam's Pet: Hands Off." Uncle Sam himself is standing beside the snake, wearing a grin

as he feeds it from a large bowl of "Government Gruel." In the backdrop there appears a state-sponsored school. A pile of books sits on the dirt in the foreground, with tattered pages that variously read "Lo the Poor Indian" and "Edcuate the Savage." This cartoon captures a view amongst settlers that snakes symbolized the evolution of the U.S. from a land of indigenous dwellers to the denizens of a new world order.[49]

Of course, such rhetorico-material depictions of snakes are not exclusive to colonialist accounts. In a Lakota allegory, snakes are the devious guardians of Mother Earth that shapeshift into "White Eyes," the humanoid versions of white American colonists. Additionally, in ancient Lakota teachings, there is a "prophecy about a black snake that would slither across the land, desecrating the sacred sites and poisoning the water before destroying the Earth."[50] In the present day, to stop oil pipelines on tribal lands is to stop this black snake.[51] "The black snake is the pipeline," says Ella Mendoza, who co-founded Familia: Trans Queer Liberation Movement, "and it is not just this pipeline, it is all the pipelines. When we talk about the pipelines we mean all unnatural, man-made things on this land that includes borders and the idea of owning territory and land."[52] Water and land are central to Lakota rites of purification. They are integral to *Inipi* ceremonies. *Inipi* means "to live again." In Two Bulls' caricatures, black snakes and pipelines are rhetorical resources for refacing colonial-Indian relations—again.

Of Two Bull's six nominated works for the Herblock Prize, there are four that deal specifically with the following proclamation made in official court papers: "The Lakota people believe that the [Dakota Access] pipeline correlates with a terrible Black Snake prophesied to come into the Lakota homeland and cause destruction."[53] In one, the Black Snake is associated directly to the Dakota Access Pipeline, with an image of an eagle strangling the serpent in its talons (Figure 5.1).

This is a prosopographic caricature of "self-transformation" for a couple reasons.[54] First, the eagle symbolizes U.S. Americanism, with connotations of majesty, freedom, and divine providence.[55] Then again, the eagle is a cunning predator, making it a powerful metonymy for American colonialism. In "Providential Detection," an anonymous cartoon from 1797, anti-Federalist John Adams is shown winning the presidency via an image of an eagle ripping the Constitution from Thomas Jefferson's grasp. The Eye of Providence looms above, alert and on the watch. This iconography echoes that which emerged at the Continental Congress of 1872, wherein the Great Seal—with arrows and olive branches animating a coat of arms as well as profound nationalistic sentiment—aligned eagles with god Jupiter and farmer-turned-warrior Cincinnatus. Plainly, American eagles insinuate colonialism.[56] The trouble here is that eagles are perhaps even more sacred to Native cultures. Read through a reoriented Western gaze, Two Bull's eagle represents what the U.S.

Figure 5.1. "Stopping the Black Snake." Courtesy of Marty Two Bulls Sr.

American nation *should* be doing: protecting indigenous tribes from black snakes. In failing to do this, the American eagle actually violates any august or portentous allusions, which leads to a second and related point. Insofar as the eagle is a symbol of protection for every tribe in the Lakota nation, Two Bulls' caricature allows both indigenes and non-Natives to situate themselves in the imagery.

Eagles are embodiments of strength and bravery. Countless Lakota tales tell of deserted warriors or abandoned hunters being saved by eagles. Eagles oversee tribal councils, bless chiefs, and—instructively—get revenge on trespassers. They are also messengers of The Creator. Accordingly, their feathers are badges of honor, adorning ceremonial pipes and Sioux warbonnets. Like the American flag, it is a sign of disrespect to drop or otherwise defile them. In these ways, Two Bulls reaffirms the eagle as a tribal guardian. But, because of the concomitant Western

appropriations of eagle symbolism, the bird of prey also situates the American spirit against itself. The sn ake is the pipeline in this picture. Its oil is venom. And, in line with Lakota lore, the snake signifies misfortune, couching colonial-Indian interactions in a tradition of enemy relations. Yet it opens up a space for onlookers to witness "the continental conquest-ensemble of police, oil interests, federal authorities, and white civil society" in terms of a serpentine revision to "the Black Snake's invasion of Indigenous lifeworlds."[57] The result is an exaggerated articulation of the Black Snake as a bad omen for both those who are in support of pipelines and those who are not in solidarity with the Great Sioux Nation. To wit, the eagle can represent Indians *and* Americans. If the snake retains its white eyes, it is likely to be dismembered like Franklin's "disunited state." But the extirpation of Savages here is part and parcel of the elimination of pipelines and their sponsors.

A second caricature from the collection contains a caption, "Stop the Dakota Access Pipeline," and the apocalyptic Lakota prophecy: "From the north a black snake will come. It will cross our lands, slowly killing all that it touches, and in its passing the water will become poison." This text overlays an image of a Lakota warrior wearing a buffalo headdress and other sacred regalia. He is prayerful, gazing skyward, and displaying a tomahawk ornamented with feathers. Most important here is the alignment of contemporary problems with colonial matters that hearken to the American Indian Wars. The Battle of the Little Big Horn, for example, was the culmination of white encroachment on Native lands. The ceremonial dress of Native Americans symbolizes the sacred as it extends from ritual festivities to rhetorical (as well as material) warfare. In the image of a headdress, what might normally be seen as "the marked attraction and repulsion of savagery as a genuinely sacred power for whiteness" is refaced as an emblem of indigenous empowerment.[58] December 2016, when the Department of the Army denied permitting to Energy Transfer Partners and temporarily prevented construction, Cheyenne River Sioux tribal leader, Bald Eagle, recounted that there was a joyous mix of "war whoops and laughter" from water protectors and land defenders.[59] *Mni wiconi*: "water is life." This has been the battle cry of pipeline protestors. Many of these same individuals wore traditional tribal regalia, making Two Bulls' caricature both a reflection of realities on the protest grounds and an expression of the peaceable conflict so common to indigenous lifeways.

Two Bulls reinforced this war footing in a third image of a woman standing in front of a young child and warding off the impending attack of guard dogs, which frame the image in black silhouette. A caption at the top reads, "Make a Stand," while another at the bottom proclaims "Water is Life," and "No Dakota Access Pipeline." Much in this caricature is refaced. First, like the male warrior just mentioned, the indigenous woman is shown in traditional garb, clutching a coup stick (or "shepherds crook")—a sacred staff to which feathers are attached to

signify battle honors. The woman's "counting coup" is strung full of feathers. In the context of pipeline protests, and in light of the young girl, Two Bulls' picture points to the generational impact of Native standoffs with colonial powers. What is more, it reiterates histories of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Native women embodying the American West as "a battleground of culture, conquest, and hunger."[60] These histories are shot through with the specter of poverty and disease, along with rhetorics of dehumanization in colonialist notions of a *terra nullius*, a land without people.[61] "If you respect women," says LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, "you respect Earth and you respect water."[62] The use of dogs by police forces is a further symptom of centuries-old colonialist disrespect, and a marker for the fact that numerous protectors were at one point detained by the Morton County Sheriff's Department, numbered (with black marker on the skin), and held in "dog kennels."[63] The woman in Two Bulls' caricature perturbs a machoistic view of Noble Savages. She is at once a female counterpoint to what Casey Ryan Kelly calls "savage masculinity," and a figure of motherhood and stewardship.[64] To boot, for the Lakota, the canine species is a boon. Wolves are considered healing creatures. Dogs are friends. So there is a disjunction in that indigenous peoples are made to stand off with animal companions. There is another one in the reversal of a Western nature-culture mythos, whereby nature is put forth as open and virginal and yet meant for laid claims and the incursions of frontiersmen. In the silhouettes of dogs, then, are the shadows of corporate profiteers as cultural adulterers.

From frontier mythologies and the residues of colonial forces emerges a new-fangled take on the tensions between Western civilization and Native cultures. As Richard Slotkin attests,

> the conquest of the wilderness and the subjugation or displacement of the Native Americans who originally inhabited it have been the means to our achievement of a national identity, a democratic polity, an ever-expanding economy and a phenomenally dynamic and 'progressive' civilization.[65]

Central to this myth is a belief that "violence is an essential and necessary part of the process through which American society was established and through which its democratic values are defended and enforced."[66] Crucially, a sister caricature by Two Bulls portrays the same Indian woman sprawled across the ground with her stick on top of her. She is either wounded or dead. Nonetheless, there is the little girl standing defiantly in the absence of dogs with black oil (or blood) splattered where the silhouettes used to be. There, too, is the evidence of colonial savagery, and the notion that a Sherman-esque "final solution" endures as something of a first principle in the face of Native Resistance.

Militarism is hereby a colonial concept. In the nineteenth century, it appeared as the threat (and use) of violent force by the nation-state, and as policing typical

of "struggles over both Indian territory and identity."[67] Amidst pipeline protests, it has been used as a mechanism for holding armed, noncivil court over generally peaceful resistive activities. A diffusion of snake imagery therefore occurs in the broader grotesqueries that come with portraits of colonial forces protecting and preserving the interests of Native oppressors in the name of both tribal sovereignty and progress. Throughout the latter part of 2016, Native spirit camps—not battle encampments—saw an influx of surveillance helicopters, checkpoints on roadways, armed members of the National Guard, makeshift holding cells, armored vehicles, and soldier-like officers in riot gear. In the summer, Governor Jack Dalrymble authorized highway closures and emergency declarations. Later, he accepted federal assistance with law enforcement, employed out-of-state officers, and eventually issued evacuation orders to tribes and their compatriots. Sheriff Kyle Kirchmeier of Morton County made indigenous people out to be militants, or at least civilian rebels of the state. A video series, named "Know the Truth," produced and disseminated by the sheriff's department actually promulgated a sort of counter-narrative to #NODAPL, painting indigenes as agitators, trespassers on private lands, and threats to public safety. Two Bulls responded with a before-and-after caricature of what policing looked like once water protectors and land defenders amassed in the fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline.

The caricature announces the "Militarization of North Dakota's Morton County Sheriff's Department." In the top left, drawn in a small circular frame entitled "Before NO DAPL," is an officer in the guise of Barney Fife—that dopey, diminutive deputy of *The Andy Griffith Show* who was "all bluster and puppy confusion."[68] With his collared shirt, tie, badge, and tiny revolver, the deputy typifies countrified ineptitude. But beside this portrayal is the Fife-like deputy "After NO DAPL," now a soldier-at-arms outfitted with a riot helmet and eye shield, gloves, a tactical vast, and an M16 Assault Rifle, standing strong in front of an armored security vehicle emblazoned with the markings of a corporatized police force set to defend those with profit motives in the oil industry. One implication is that mass surveillance of freely assembled persons, and a banal version of military occupation over the more brutal massacres of old, are the all-too-familiar faces of a militarized Indian Country. (It would not be inapt, for instance, to draw parallels between the NODAPL standoff and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, where there was a massive display of police and military might—fueled by corrupt tribal council president, Dick Wilson, and his Guardians of the Oglala Nation, or GOON squad—along with countervailing reactions from protestors and activists.) Another is that the relics of "imperial and colonial thinking" propel the ongoing battle for civil rights and religious freedoms as they are tied to lands and natural resources.[69] Or, in the words of LaDuke, pushback on protectors exemplifies "a

colonial/military/pre-civil rights, old boy paradigm," which "is evidenced throughout North Dakota in the destruction of land and the desecration of native people and women."[70] Following Two Bulls, water is to lifeways as caricature is to *wakan*: the mystery of one Being in many, and many Beings in one.

Fittingly, the last of Two Bulls' caricatures dealing with pipeline politics features U.S. President Donald Trump on his hands and knees, almost as if in prayer (Figure 5.2).

His visage is tipped off by the wildly ludicrous hairdo, with strange tapers on the sides and a rooster's comb-over on top. Here, though, his baboonish mouth has been converted into a piece of the Keystone Pipeline, with oil spewing out of it as if his words are an oil spill with contaminating effects that are as

Figure 5.2. "Keystone." Courtesy of Marty Two Bulls Sr.

environmental as they are rhetorical. In another caricature, Two Bulls travesties Trump signing executive memoranda in early 2017 to push the pipeline projects forward by showing him seated before the documents and repeating what he declared in a public statement: "I just closed my eyes and said … DO IT!" But his eyes are not so much closed in Two Bulls' caricature as they are covered by a devil who stands behind him while uttering Trump's own words as a sinister directive. These are apt caricatures given Trump's campaign promises, which vowed to expedite permitting processes and allow for the development of more and more tar sand infrastructure—and this on top of privatizing federal lands that traverse the Ponca Trail of Tears and overlap with Native water sources that, on paper, have been protected since before the Laramie Treaty in 1868. They also reinforce Trump's pledge of allegiance to "America First" policies. Two Bull's caricature sees them enacted in an American president bowing down to Big Oil. To be sure, this very image changes the face of prayer. While those among the Great Sioux Nation pray for the coterminous harmonies between human beings and their natural world, Trump entreats a "commoditization of the nature, water, [and] air" that indigenous communities "hold sacred."[71] The face of oil is the face of profanation. Trump's face is the paradoxically privileged object of ridicule, with Two Bulls' caricature as a "violent, childish, debased, filthy, revolting, rotten disgusting, filthy, insulting, profane, and so on, counter-reaction" to a crude ordeal.[72]

It is perhaps appropriate, then, to close with a parody of Chief Wahoo, the logo for the Cleveland Indians baseball team. In Two Bulls' caricature (Figure 5.3), the mock chieftain is decrepit, with missing teeth, bags under his eyes, and mouth agape as he appears peeking around the words "Insulting Native People for 101 Years" while uttering, "huh?"

The express coevality recollects the logo's origination as a cartoon published in *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* in 1915.[73] The cartoon contains a handful of Indians in ball field scenarios. One Indian is saying "Wukwog-o" to an umpire who responds in agitation, reproaching the player to "talk English you Wukoig." Fans, too, are seen shouting "new rooting lingo." The forced assimilations, cultural appropriations, and stereotypical dislocations between savagery and civility are palpable, and underwritten by the fact that, at the brand's inception, "civilization regulations forbade Native Americans to speak their language, practice their religions or leave their reservations."[74] The logo itself first took hold in the 1940s and underwent revisions in the 1950s to adopt its current appearance as "a garishly red (get it? 'Cause Indians are red?), befeathered cartoon, all big nose and step-n-fetch-it grin."[75] Of late, what Jason Edward Black calls the "mascotting" of Native America—and its intermingling of populations and property ownership, objectified persons and product

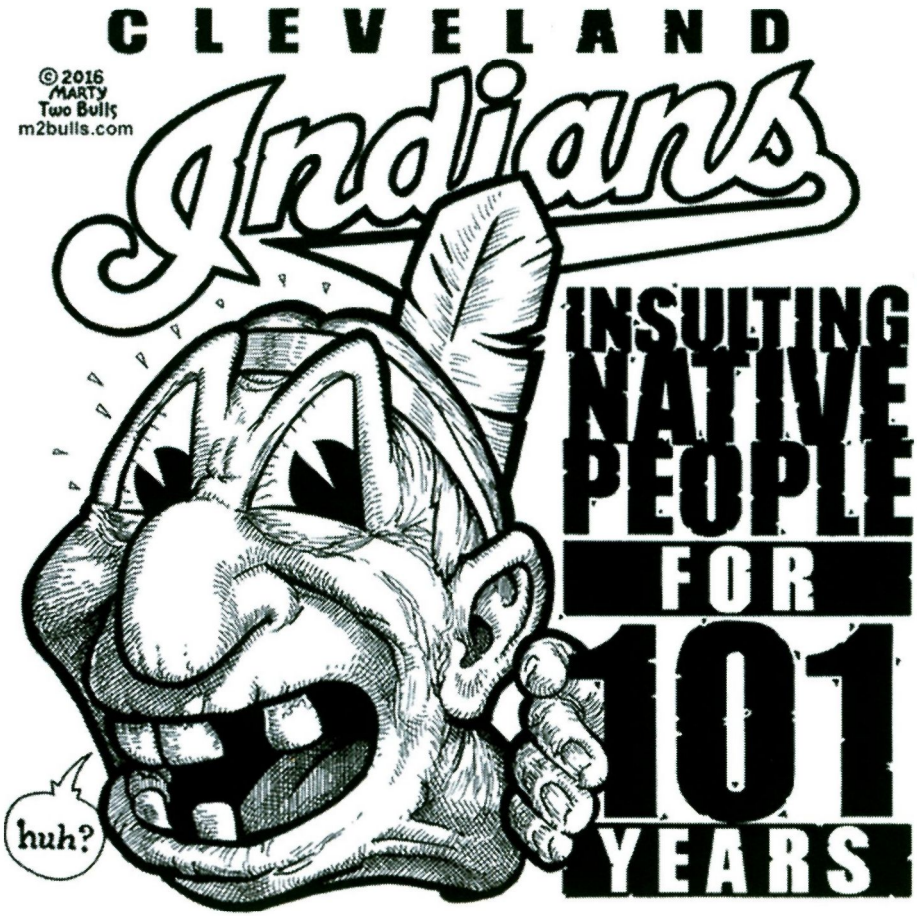

Figure 5.3. "Cleveland Indians." Courtesy of Marty Two Bulls Sr.

developments—has come under severe scrutiny.[76] At the center of objections are not just claims to racism or against Western ethnocentrism but also reprobation for the idea that there is no such thing as a mere caricature; after all, "pseudo-Indian imagery" has codified relationships between perceptions of indigenism and their cruel, inhuman, and material consequences since the start of American colonization.[77]

The crux of Two Bulls' mockery of mascotting is the all-too-Western sense that dominant culture has an unquestioned authority to access and appropriate images and ideas of Indian-ness. Numerous scholars and critics have remarked on this colonialist power grab. Joe R. Feagin identifies it as an overwhelming "white-controlled framing of Native Americans," which belies the fact that

brutality constituted colonial attitudes and actions toward indigenous peoples when this framing turns "sacred chants, face paint, headdresses, and drums" into the accouterments of fandom.[78] In this sense, mascots stand as symbols of the systemic slaughter of Native populations, of the dispensability and depictability of flesh-and-blood human beings, and of the perverse sentiment that there are right kinds of Indians who occupy acceptable roles in larger stories of statecraft cum sportfulness. It is therefor apt to consider Chief Wahoo for his distillation of "rhetorical colonialism" as the core principle by which even contemporary colonial-Indian relations are conducted as if Native others are simply, well, other.[79] Consider that Cleveland Indians ownership has long resisted the idea of changing the mascot. Chief Wahoo is *the baseball team's* symbol. It is part of *the team's* identity. (At the same time, the official stance remains that the logo is not a real person but rather a rendition of Indian-ness that valorizes athletic vim and verve.) Furthermore, for fans, pretending to be an Indian is like putting on a costume and embodying the ostensibly warlike characteristics of a bygone culture (at least for those who do not now sport "de-chief" apparel).[80] Even so, Chief Wahoo represents old policies of extermination in the ongoing practices of enlivening a certain type of Indian as an archetype of white commercial values. (Ironically, it also harbors stereotypes of Native shamanism with the idea that the logo has been a curse on the Indians' ability to win a World Series.) What is worst is that this framework has state sponsorship in light of case law and trademark regulations.[81]

The shift from a view of Chief Wahoo as a warrior in sporting battles to one of him as a stooge for corporate property rights and colonialist cultural interests is significant for the rhetorical transformation of Native Americans themselves from caricatures into agents.[82] As Eryn Wise of the Jicarilla Apache Nation and Laguna Pueblo asserts, "we are not just caricatures, we're not just past tense, we're not historical figures. We are people that exist in the here and now."[83] Two Bulls' caricature is a meta-caricature, of sorts. Instead of the Indian being a resource for performance, he is performing a critique of those who adopt his sham disposition. Chief Wahoo is no longer the face of a warrior spirit. Instead, he is the façade for willful ignorance, mimicking how ridiculous it is to be surprised by the notion that those indigenes on the receiving end of his Westernized pride, prejudice, and racialism might actually be insulted. Two Bulls' refaced Chief Wahoo is a cartoon touchstone for tired Indian imagery that, especially with modern-day mascots, is worse for the wear. But it is also a straightening out of what Josh Ostergaard might call the "devil's snake curve"—or, we might say, the crookedness of the black snake—and its concomitant alliance with xenophobia, capitalistic nationalism, and a colonial order of things. Self-caricature here is a mode of

"self-colonization."[84] Native selfhood is a rhetorical reconstruction of the other. Consequently, with Two Bulls' caricature comes a transmogrification from an ethic of kill-the-Indian-and-save-the-image to one of save-the-Indian-and-kill-the-image. This about-face, though still grotesque, innervates a decolonization of caricature.

Conclusion: Forked Tongues and Volte-Faces

Rain-in-the-Face, a famed Lakota warrior who made his mark at the Battle of Little Bighorn, once proclaimed this: *Wasicu iya sintehla* ("white man speaks with forked tongue").[85] In one sense, this sentiment serves as a prelude to the type of devil that Two Bulls imagined in his caricature of President Trump. In another, though, it alludes to the snake-like tendencies of false promising land-grabbers.

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that to look Native caricatures in the face is, in part, to come to terms with racial and ethnic injustices, cultural imbalances, and colonialist dislocations. Similarly, to take Two Bulls' caricatures seriously is to acknowledge how they give presence to indigenous ways of life that are otherwise absented or disappeared from a Western gaze. From his redeployment of black snake imagery to his rearrangement of familiar American iconography, Two Bulls demonstrates the many faces of indigenous caricature, not to mention the manifold facets of persistent colonialist attitudes, airs, and activities in the U.S. In so doing, his work—which extends well beyond the award-winning collection under study herein—reveals some of the prosopographic elements of caricature as an artful means of refacing "descriptions of imaginary persons" with visual depictions of cultural imaginaries and the people that are impacted by them.[86] At the heart of *prosōpographia* is a recognition that all representations are partial. As a result, the depths of prima facie imagery should be culled for the reasons and rationalizations in dark histories that do not normally see the light of day.[87] Two Bulls' caricatures depict present-day water protectors and land defenders in accordance with the horrors and heritages that make up their personae. By extension, they face longstanding rhetorical inventions of indigenes and their histories with caricature as a vehicle for reusing profanations to provoke the sacred nature of indeginism into view.

This might look like a fairly simplistic reorientation: to reface damaging caricatures of Native Americans one might simply draw out better caricatures of them. The countervailing potential of indigenous caricatures seems to remain an open question. But, following Two Bulls, very often the "simplest answers are the hardest to face because of that person in the mirror."[88] Part of the rhetorical force

of *prosōpographia* comes from the urgency of its appeal for onlookers to reserve olden judgments about, say, Native lifeways when addressing matters of tribal sovereignty, sacred grounds, and natural resources, all of which should be held in trust by the whole of our American body politic. Black Elk once spoke of a "happy laughter" that accompanies the sadness and suffering brought on by "the thunder beings of the West." It vibrates, he said, with the vision of a "people yet to be," the truth of whom "comes upon the world ... like a rain." Lifeways are seeing-ways. Seeing-ways can be laughing-ways. As much comprises the wisdom of heyokas, with their folly and laughter. And as much is the wisdom of Two Bulls' caricatures when we let them ask us to imagine how the laughing face might be the face of comity.

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82. See Strong, "Mascot," 160.

83. Natasha Geiling, "'We haven't lost … we have awakened': Indigenous Nations March on the White House," *ThinkProgress*, March 10, 2017, https://thinkprogress.org/native-nations-march-on-washington-92f3d0f6effc.
84. Danielle Endres, "American Indian Permission for Mascots: Resistance or Complicity within Rhetorical Colonialism?" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 18, no. 4 (2015): 649–90.
85. Note that *Wasicu* means "he who takes fat," i.e., the fat of the land.
86. Richard A. Lanham, A *Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, Second Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 186.
87. Wayne C. Booth, *Modern Dogma and the Rhetoric of Assent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 35. See also Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (New York: Routledge, 1981), 45.
88. Staff, "Cartoonist."